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This brief summarizes the data obtained during a survey of 105 predominantly white US graduate schools of arts and sciences concerning black enrollments and Ph.Ds recently awarded to Negroes. The survey was conducted during the summer of 1968. Seven statistical tables summarize the responses of 64 of the institutions on enrollments, 63 of which were also able to provide data on recent Ph.D recipients. These schools represent one third of the leading US doctoral degree-granting institutions --public and private, large and small, urban and rural, prestigious and relatively unknown-- that are located in all sections of the US. The purpose of the brief is to reveal the degree to which US universities have been unresponsive to the needs of their minority-group constituents. The scope of this problem is summarized by 3 observations that evolved from the survey. These observations are supported with figures and conclusive statements: (1) the proportion of the total US population that is black is 11.5%; (2) the proportion of black students in the total enrollment of US graduate schools of arts and sciences is 1.72%; and (3) the proportion of all Ph.Ds awarded between 1964 and 1968 that went to black US citizens is 0.78%. (WM)

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GRADUATE EDUCATION AND BLACK AMERICANS

by Fred E. Crossland

During the summer of 1968, 105 American graduate schools of arts and sciences were asked to provide data about black Americans attending their institutions and receiving their degrees. Sixty-four were able to provide data about enrollment; sixty-three were able to provide information about recent Ph.D. recipients. The participating universities are listed in Attachment A. The data they furnished are summarized in seven statistical tables at the end of this paper. We are extremely grateful for their cooperation.

The collection of information about racial representation in graduate schools is complicated by two facts. First, it is impossible to be precise about something as imprecise as race. Men and women do not fit neatly into yellow, brown, red, black, or white pigeonholes. Second, in recent years it has become socially proper and legally necessary for institutions not to ask a man's race and not to keep racial records.

It was impossible, therefore, for most administrators to provide exact answers to our questions. For the most part, the raw data they sent us were estimates, educated guesses, recollections of former students, and hunches about current degree candidates. Despite the inevitable imprecision of individual items of information, the composite picture is remarkably clear and the patterns are consistent.

Nearly one third of all American doctoral degree granting institutions provided data; these institutions award more than one third of all earned higher degrees. They are not a small statistical sample; they are a large and representative group of America's leading universities. They represent the public and private sectors of higher education. They are located in all sections of the country. They are large and small, urban and rural. They are prestigious and relatively unknown to the general public.

All the responding universities are typical in that they are "predominantly white" institutions in a society becoming increasingly and belatedly self-conscious about its treatment of the culturally different. What these universities have to say about their own service to black Americans is important.

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The following three figures summarize the situation and indicate the scope of the problem:

... 11.5 percent this is the proportion of the total American population which is black

... 1.72 percent this is the proportion of the total enrollment in America's graduate schools of arts and sciences which is black American

... 0.78 percent this is the proportion of all Ph.D.'s awarded between 1964 and 1968 which went to black Americans

If the number of black American graduate students were multiplied sevenfold, it would only match the ratio of blacks to the total American population. The annual number of new black Ph.D.'s would have to be multiplied by fifteen to achieve the total population ratio. All the current black recruitment programs will not bring off such increases.

Nothing less than massive, concerted, and sustained efforts by the universities -- together with greatly increased student financial aid resources and vastly improved primary, elementary, and undergraduate education -- will bring about graduate enrollment "parity" for black Americans within a decade. Meanwhile, black administrators will continue to be under-represented in higher education. And students, black and white, will continue to have proportionately few black professors in their college classrooms and laboratories.

The sixty-four graduate schools responding to our questionnaire reported that only 1.72 percent of their students last year were black Americans. There were some regional differences. Nearly half the reported black students were enrolled in the large Midwestern state universities. Both the East and West were below the national figure. As might be expected, the South was above the average. However, although 40 to 50 percent of all black Americans live in the South, it appears that no more than 20 percent of all black graduate students attend institutions in that part of the country. It is likely that a substantial number of black students migrate from the South to low-cost public institutions in the Midwest. (See Table I.)

Twelve of the 64 responding institutions had fewer than ten black students last year, and only twelve reported more than 100. Of the latter, nine were public state universities and three were urban institutions (one public and two private). (See Table II.)

Since the 1.72 percent black enrollment figure is more than double the 0.78 percent black Ph.D. figure, it is probable that black enrollment tends to be concentrated at the master degree level and that relatively few blacks continue to the doctorate. On the other

hand, it is possible that the number of new black graduate students in the last two or three years has increased and that there will be a corresponding increase of black Ph.D.'s in the near future.

In the past, the majority of black graduate students were seeking only to satisfy requirements for elementary and secondary school teaching and few had reason to work for the doctorate. That condition may be changing. (See Table VII.) More than half of the recent black Ph.D. recipients were already teaching at the college level, many at Southern predominantly Negro colleges. As both industry and higher education seek more credentialed blacks, there probably will be increasing numbers of blacks seeking to enter graduate school, enroll in a wider variety of fields, and work for higher degrees.

Sixty-three universities were able to provide data about recent black Ph.D. recipients. Thirteen reported that they had none between 1964 and 1968. Fifty reported that collectively they awarded 294 Ph.D.'s to black Americans between 1964 and 1968. (See Table III.) Among the fifty universities, fourteen granted just one each, and an additional eight universities awarded two Ph.D.'s each to black Americans between 1964 and 1968. The remaining 28 institutions awarded from 3 to 41 doctoral degrees to blacks during the five-year period. (See Table IV.)

The annual number of black Ph.D.'s has been increasing rather steadily in each of the four regions listed, but the percentage of Ph.D.'s going to black Americans has remained extremely low and fairly stable. There has been no significant change despite increasing public attention to civil rights, racial issues, and minority problems, and despite educators' preoccupations with compensatory programs and intensive recruitment of minority students. The interval from graduate school entry to the awarding of the doctorate typically is four or five years, so the result of recent and current efforts must be awaited. No doubt the number of black Ph.D.'s will continue to grow slowly, but there are no signs of sudden changes. After all, the black Ph.D.'s of 1972 are attending graduate school now and there simply are not that many now enrolled.

There appears to be no relationship between size of university and proportion of Ph.D.'s awarded to black Americans. (See Table V.) The ten largest and the ten smallest institutions among the respondents have almost exactly the same proportion of black Americans among their recent Ph.D. holders. Black graduate students clearly are in short supply, but no section of the country and no size of university has a corner on the market.

Universities also were asked how many Ph.D.'s they expect to award to black Americans in 1969. Forty-six of the graduate schools responded. (See Table VI.) The estimates appear to be very generous and may reflect hope rather than expectation. But even if only half of the "hopefuls" for 1969 receive their Ph.D.'s, the 46 responding institutions will have record numbers of black doctoral alumni next year. It will be worth a second look.

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It is not the purpose of this brief study to analyze the many and complex reasons for the under-representation of minority groups in American graduate schools, nor is it the purpose here to suggest ways and means of increasing minority enrollments. Both are major unfinished tasks for America's universities. The data here reported merely reveal the scope of the problem. Only the universities themselves can demonstrate that they are responsive to the needs of all their constituents, and that they can and will serve them. And that includes the 11.5 percent of their neighbors who are black.

TABLE I

ENROLLMENT IN GRADUATE SCHOOLS OF ARTS AND SCIENCES IN 1967-68

Region	Universities asked	Universities responding	Total enrollment	Black American enrollment	Percent black American
East	39	24	39,381	467	1.19
South	24	12	21,151	577	2.73
Midwest	25	18	79,149	1,495	1.89
West	17	10	34,934	473	1.35
Total	105	64	174,615	3,012	1.72

Explanatory Notes:

1. The universities themselves provided the raw data upon which this and all subsequent tables are based.
2. The figures are for full-time and part-time enrollment combined.
3. Questionnaires were addressed to deans of graduate schools of arts and sciences at the 105 institutions included in Allan M. Cartter, An Assessment of Quality in Graduate Education (1966).
4. Data may not always be exactly comparable because universities keep records in different ways. For example, a few may have provided data for more than "arts and sciences" and included education, business administration, engineering, and perhaps other fields.
5. Data were sought for "Negro American" students rather than for "all black students", a category which would include black students from other countries.

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AMERICAN ENROLLMENT IN
GRADUATE SCHOOLS OF ARTS AND SCIENCES IN 1967-68

Number of black American students	Number of universities				
	East	South	Midwest	West	Total
0-9	8	1	0	3	12
10-19	6	4	3	2	15
20-29	4	1	3	2	10
30-39	2	1	1	0	4
40-49	2	2	1	0	5
50-59	1	0	1	0	2
60-69	0	0	0	1	1
70-79	1	0	1	0	2
80-89	0	0	1	0	1
90-99	0	0	0	0	0
100-124	0	2	3	1	6
125-149	0	0	0	0	0
150-174	0	1	1	0	2
175-199	0	0	2	0	2
200-224	0	0	0	1	1
225-249	0	0	1	0	1
250 or more	0	0	0	0	0
Universities responding	24	12	18	10	64
Universities asked	39	24	25	17	105

TABLE III

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREES AWARDED FROM 1964 THROUGH 1968

	Academic Year	Total Ph.D.'s Awarded	Ph.D.'s to Black Americans	Percent to Black Americans
EAST (23 respondents out of 39 asked)	1963-64	1,221	9	0.74
	1964-65	1,456	14	0.96
	1965-66	1,586	15	0.95
	1966-67	1,741	24	1.38
	1967-68	<u>2,015</u>	<u>17</u>	0.84
	Five years	8,019	79	0.99
SOUTH (12 respondents out of 24 asked)	1963-64	692	1	0.14
	1964-65	916	1	0.11
	1965-66	1,028	1	0.10
	1966-67	1,197	10	0.84
	1967-68	<u>1,271</u>	<u>6</u>	0.47
	Five years	5,104	19	0.37
MIDWEST (18 respondents out of 25 asked)	1963-64	2,934	26	0.89
	1964-65	3,059	38	1.24
	1965-66	3,495	28	0.80
	1966-67	3,784	33	0.87
	1967-68	<u>4,219</u>	<u>41</u>	0.97
	Five years	17,491	166	0.95
WEST (10 respondents out of 17 asked)	1963-64	952	5	0.53
	1964-65	1,177	5	0.42
	1965-66	1,335	8	0.60
	1966-67	1,670	3	0.18
	1967-68	<u>1,708</u>	<u>9</u>	0.53
	Five years	6,842	30	0.44
TOTALS (63 respondents out of 105 asked)	1963-64	5,799	41	0.71
	1964-65	6,608	58	0.88
	1965-66	7,444	52	0.70
	1966-67	8,392	70	0.83
	1967-68	<u>9,213</u>	<u>73</u>	0.79
	Five years	37,456	294	0.78

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AMERICAN RECIPIENTS OF THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY DURING THE FIVE-YEAR PERIOD ENDING 1968

Number of black American Ph.D.'s	Number of universities				
	East	South	Midwest	West	Total
0	4	4	3	2	13
1	8	4	1	1	14
2	3	0	3	2	8
3	0	2	1	3	6
4	0	1	0	0	1
5	3	1	0	0	4
6	1	0	1	1	3
7	0	0	0	0	0
8	1	0	1	0	2
9	0	0	0	0	0
10	1	0	3	1	5
11	1	0	0	0	1
12	0	0	1	0	1
13	0	0	1	0	1
14	0	0	0	0	0
15-19	1	0	0	0	1
20-24	0	0	2	0	2
25-29	0	0	0	0	0
30-34	0	0	0	0	0
35-39	0	0	0	0	0
40-44	0	0	1	0	1
45 or more	0	0	0	0	0
Universities responding	23	12	18	10	63
Universities asked	39	24	25	17	105

TABLE V

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SIZE OF UNIVERSITIES AND THE NUMBER OF
BLACK AMERICAN Ph.D.'s DURING THE FIVE-YEAR PERIOD ENDING 1968

Note: Institutions are ranked according to the total number of Ph.D.'s awarded between 1964 and 1968. 105 universities were asked for data; 63 responded.

	Rank Order	Total Ph.D.'s Awarded	Ph.D.'s to black Americans	Percent to black Americans
The ten largest	1.	2,873	13	
	2.	2,439	22	
	3.	2,353	41	
	4.	2,208	10	
	5.	1,958	10	
	6.	1,895	3	
	7.	1,725	24	
	8.	1,584	8	
	9.	1,263	8	
	10.	<u>1,134</u>	<u>10</u>	
	Sub-total	19,432	149	0.77
The next largest eleven universities	11-21.	7,036	48	0.68
THE TOP THIRD	1-21.	26,468	197	0.74
THE MIDDLE THIRD	22-42.	7,829	67	0.86
THE BOTTOM THIRD	43-63.	3,159	30	0.95
Eleven of the smaller universities	43-53.	2,142	22	1.03
The ten smallest universities	54.	145	1	
	55.	115	5	
	56.	112	0	
	57.	110	1	
	58.	105	0	
	59.	104	0	
	60.	99	1	
	61.	81	0	
	62.	74	0	
	63.	<u>72</u>	<u>0</u>	
	Sub-total	1,017	8	0.79
All 63 respondents	1-63.	37,456	294	0.78

TABLE VI

UNIVERSITY ESTIMATES OF NUMBER OF BLACK AMERICANS WHO WILL
RECEIVE THE PH.D. IN 1969

Region	Universities asked	Universities responding	Actually awarded					Possible 1969
			1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	
East	39	17	9	12	12	21	10	42
South	24	9	0	1	0	8	5	22
Midwest	25	11	17	25	14	22	23	44
West	17	9	5	5	7	2	8	17
Total	105	46	31	43	33	53	46	125

TABLE VII

ACADEMIC FIELDS OF 83 BLACK AMERICAN RECIPIENTS
OF THE PH.D. IN 1967 AND 1968

Anthropology	1	Mathematics	5
Biology	11	Music	1
Chemistry	8	Physics	1
Conservation	1	Political Science	3
Economics	1	Psychology	6
Education	12	Religion	2
Engineering	4	Sociology	5
English	5	Speech and Drama	5
Geology	1	Textiles	1
Health-related areas	3	Veterinary science	2
History	2	Zoology	3

ATTACHMENT A

UNIVERSITIES INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY

Questionnaires were sent to the 105 institutions listed below. Virtually all were very cooperative and provided a variety of useful information, but about one third were unable to be specific or were delayed and hence could not be included in the survey. The 64 universities providing enrollment data are indicated by O. The 63 providing information about Ph.D. recipients are indicated by *.

EAST

- O American University
- Boston University
- O * Brandeis University
- O * Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn
- O * Brown University
- O * Bryn Mawr College
- State University of N. Y. - Buffalo
- O * Carnegie-Mellon University
- O * Catholic University
- O * Clark University
- Columbia University
- University of Connecticut
- O * Cornell University
- University of Delaware
- O * Fordham University
- O * George Washington University
- Georgetown University
- Harvard University
- O * Johns Hopkins University
- O * Lehigh University
- Massachusetts Institute of Technology
- O * University of Maryland
- O * University of Massachusetts
- New York University
- O * New School for Social Research
- University of Pennsylvania
- O * Pennsylvania State University
- O * University of Pittsburgh
- Princeton University
- O * Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
- University of Rochester
- O * Rockefeller University
- O * Rutgers - The State University
- O * St. John's University
- Syracuse University
- Temple University
- O * Tufts University
- Yale University
- O * Yeshiva University

SOUTH

- O * University of Alabama
- O * University of Arkansas
- O * Duke University
- O * Emory University
- O * University of Florida
- Florida State University
- George Peabody College for Teachers
- Georgia Institute of Technology
- University of Houston
- O * University of Kentucky
- Louisiana State University
- O University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill
- O * North Carolina State University - Raleigh
- University of Oklahoma
- O * Oklahoma State University
- Rice University
- University of Tennessee
- University of Texas
- O * Texas A. & M. University
- O * Tulane University
- O * Vanderbilt University
- University of Virginia
- * Virginia Polytechnic Institute
- West Virginia University

MIDWEST

- Case Western Reserve University
- University of Chicago
- O * University of Cincinnati
- O * University of Illinois
- O * Illinois Institute of Technology
- Indiana University
- University of Iowa
- O * Iowa State University
- O * University of Kansas
- O * Kansas State University
- O * Loyola University
- * University of Michigan
- Michigan State University
- O * University of Minnesota
- O University of Missouri
- O * University of Nebraska
- O * University of North Dakota
- O * Northwestern University
- O * University of Notre Dame
- Ohio State University
- O * Purdue University
- O * St. Louis University
- O * Washington University
- O * Wayne State University
- O * University of Wisconsin

WEST

- University of Arizona
- University of California - Berkeley
- University of California - Davis
- O University of California - Los Angeles
- California Institute of Technology
- O * Claremont Graduate School
- University of Colorado
- O * University of Denver
- O * University of New Mexico
- O * University of Oregon
- * Oregon State University
- O * University of Southern California
- O * Stanford University
- O * University of Utah
- University of Washington
- O * Washington State University
- O * University of Wyoming

THE SELECTION OF INSTITUTIONS FOR THIS SURVEY

Information was requested from the 105 institutions included in Allan M. Cartter, An Assessment of Quality in Graduate Education (1966). (At the time the Cartter study was begun in 1964, 106 universities were included; a merger has reduced that figure by one.) Writing in 1966, Cartter explained (pp. 10-12) the criteria for selection of institutions:

Slightly more than two hundred universities grant the doctorate today, but the largest 100 account for more than 95 percent of all earned doctorates and nearly 98 percent of doctorates in arts and sciences. In view of the decision to survey the major graduate schools, the simplest device was to include the institutions which formed the Council of Graduate Schools in the United States in 1961. To this group of 100, we added six universities which had granted 100 or more doctorates (spread over three or more fields) in the preceding decade. Thus, the 106 institutions include every university which averaged ten doctorates a year in the 1953-62 period.